DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 479 142 SO 034 406

AUTHOR	Yamada, Shoko
TITLE	Politics of Educational Transfer: Different Meanings of the American Black Industrial Education Model in the Discourse of "Education for Africans."
PUB DATE	2002-03-00
NOTE	26p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society (Orlando, FL, March 5-9, 2002).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Black Education; Blacks; Developing Nations; Educational History; *Educational Policy; *Educational Practices; Foreign Countries; *Geographic Regions; *Industrial Education; International Education; *Models; *Relevance (Education)
IDENTIFIERS	*Africa; *Educational Transfer; Phelps Stokes Foundation of New York

ABSTRACT

In 1920, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, based in New York, sent a commission to investigate educational conditions in West, South, and Equatorial Africa. After the first Phelps-Stokes Commission, two additional commissions were sent from the United States to investigate African educational practices and conditions until the mid-1940s. These efforts to transfer U.S. educational experience, backed by U.S. philanthropic organizations in the United States, were driven by a feeling of moral responsibility as veteran promoters of Black education and financial power. Why were U.S. philanthropic organizations so interested in African education and why did Europeans, particularly the British, look to the United States for guidance? This paper considers these questions in the context of American racial politics and how this was perceived in the international arena. Related is the fact that the U.S. has minimal political and economic relations with Africa, creating the perception that it could act as a neutral referee. The image of the U.S. specialists carries strong symbolic meaning, and often counted for more than the actual substantial value of any U.S. model. The paper explores this point by showing some of the common characteristics of the main actors involved. (Contains 42 notes and 20 references.) (BT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 479 142

Politics of Educational Transfer:

Different meanings of the American Black industrial education model in the discourse of 'education for Africans'

Presented at Comparative and International Education Society 2002 Annual Meeting, held in Orlando, Florida, on March 5-9, 2002

Shoko Yamada

SO 034 406

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

S. YAMADA

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

In 1920, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, based in New York, sent a commission to investigate educational conditions in West, South, and Equatorial Africa. Among people involved in educational work in Africa - missionaries and government officials - there was a growing demand for information on educational philosophies and methods that might be relevant. It was the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society which officially requested, through the North American Missionary Conference, that the Phelps-Stokes Fund send a commission.[1] Several other missionary societies in the U.S. expressed interest in the Phelps-Stokes' Commission and promised cooperation.[2] The British were also keen to make an educational survey in Africa. J.H. Oldham, Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, assured the Commission that the British missionary societies and Government officials in the field "would undoubtedly be in every respect cooperative".[3] Acquiring unprecedented support from missionaries, academics, and governments, the first educational commission departed for Africa. The Commission's report, published in 1922, received enthusiastic praise and high regard almost unanimously. For example, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast (1919-27), said:

> I must state my conviction that one of the most important events that has (sic) occurred in the history of the progress of the African peoples is the publication of the Report.[4]

The Commission to West, South, and Equatorial Africa initiated a new period of

---

[1] Minutes of the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, 28 Feb 1919, Archives of the Division of World Mission and Evangelism, Inter-Church Center, New York. Cited in p. 56, Kenneth King. "Pan-Africanism and Education: a Study of Race, Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa." Oxford: Clarendon Press 1971

[2] Financial contributions came from Baptist Church, North ($2,000); Methodist Church, North ($2,000); Disciples Missionary Boards ($2,000); Congregational Boards ($1,500); Presbyterian, North ($2,000); Presbyterian, South ($1,000); Episcopal Church ($1,000 or 2,000?); and United Brethren ($500 or 1,000?). Minutes of the Board Meeting, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 17 January 1920, the Phelps-Stokes Fund Collection, New York

[3] ibid.

American commitment to African education; one defined by a massive transfer of knowledge. Even before that, American missionaries had been active in some parts of Africa. However, their activities were neither as systematic nor as pervasive as what transpired following the Phelps-Stokes' Commissions. The educational policies articulated by the British Colonial Office in 1923 pretty much followed the line suggested in the Phelps-Stokes Report.[5] It became common practice for British colonial governments and mission societies working in Africa to send individuals to study American educational practices. Such study-tours were popular throughout the 1930s and 1940s. After the first Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1920, two additional commissions were sent from America to investigate African educational practices and conditions until the mid-40s.[6] These massive efforts to transfer American educational experience were backed by philanthropic organizations in the northern United States. They were driven by a feeling of moral responsibility as veteran promoters of Black education and financial power.[7]

From the perspective of someone not involved in this process, it may seem curious that Americans' opinions should carry such weight with those seeking to advance education in Africa. In terms of physical presence, Americans did not constitute a large group in Africa. The fact is, the United States did not have any colonies in Africa, and ties with only one territory, independent Liberia. So why were American philanthropic organizations so interested in African

---

[4] Sir Gordon Guggisberg. "Review of the Events of 1922-23" speech made at the Legislative Council. Gold Coast Government. 1923

[5] Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa, "Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa." Colonial Office, United Kingdom 1923.

[6] The Phelps-Stokes Fund sent another commission to East Africa in 1924; and the General Education Board, one of the Rockefeller organizations, sent a group to investigate the educational conditions in Africa in 1942.

[7] The Phelps-Stokes Fund devoted $232,000 in the 20 years between 1910 and 1930, which was about a quarter of its total expenditure on education. Compared to the actual impact of the Fund in determining policy, its financial contribution was modest. Various Rockefeller Foundations, including the International Education Board, the General Education Board, and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation, were interested in African education. The Carnegie Corporation financed the travel expenses of American lecturers visiting South Africa and educators and government officials in Africa visiting America. There were some philanthropies specifically interested in education in Liberia such as the New York State Colonization Society.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

education? And why did Europeans, especially the British, look to Americans for guidance? In the following sections, these questions will be considered in the context of American racial politics and how this was perceived in the international arena. Related also is the fact of the U.S. having minimal political and economic relations with Africa creating the perception that it could act as a neutral referee. Whether Americans were, in fact, good at handling race issues, equally whether they were independent of any political or economic interest groups in Africa, was not the issue – the fact is, that people wanted to believe so. The image of the "American specialists" carried strong symbolic meaning, and often counted for more than the actual substantial value of any American model. I will explore this point by showing some of the common characteristics of main actors involved.

The educational practices of American philanthropists in Liberia is also of my interest. This might be contrasted with the advisory role they played in other parts of the continent, especially in East and South Africa. Liberia started as a settlement of freed American Blacks in 1822, on account of which it was from the beginning of American political interest. During the period between the 1920s and 40s, when British officials, missionaries, and even Africans looked to the Black educational and racial policies promoted by American philanthropists as constituting a kind of standard, it was only in Liberia that these philanthropists, American missionaries aside, actually set up and managed schools by themselves. The difference in roles, which is as advisors versus implementers, reveals a gap between the ideal and reality. It also reveals the peculiarity that a model should be so widely valued in spite of the inexperience of those who developed it.

Agricultural and industrial education

The education model promoted by American philanthropists, particularly those of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, was a type of vocational education originally designed for American Blacks.

The advocates of this type of education were particularly cautious about filling the brain of students with book knowledge and fostering aspirations for White-collar jobs – they didn't want to detach students from the society to which they belonged. That the content of the education should have a practical application and be adapted to the local conditions were their primary concerns. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, repeatedly stressed the following as the "four essentials" of education: (1) sanitation and health; (2) agriculture and simple industry; (3) the decencies and safeties of the home; and (4) healthful recreation.[8] To relate every phase of education to the sanitation, housing, home, and economic life of the student's environment – in effect, to "socialize the teaching subjects"[9] - was, according to Jones, the fundamental of the education.

The emphasis on vocational training, which became popular in the last few decades of the nineteenth century, was not originally linked to conceptions of racial differences between Whites and Blacks. However, when Black slaves in America were liberated and began expressing a strong desire for an education, the emphasis became quickly on agricultural and industrial education. Northern philanthropists devoted large amounts of money and energy to promoting the agricultural and industrial education of Southern Blacks. Among active philanthropic organizations was the General Education Board, one of the Rockefeller foundations specializing in education. In 1962, a half century later, R.B. Fosdick wrote in Adventure in Giving, a Rockefeller-funded review of the General Education Board's work:

> Certainly the kind of education which [the GEB] stressed was less objectionable to the South than the so-called classical type. If the White Southerners had to permit the Negro to obtain any education at all, they wanted it to be of the sort that would make him a better servant and laborer, not that which would train him to rise out of his "place".[10]

---

[8] pp. 245-251 Thomas Jesse Jones "East Africa and Education" The Southern Workman June 1925. 239-253

[9] Thomas Jesse Jones to Sadler. 17 March, 1933. Folder 2984, box 286, Series 1-2, General Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

[10] p. 85 R.B. Fosdick. "Adventure in Giving: the Story of the General Education Board, a Foundation Established by

Some models of agricultural and industrial education in particular were earnestly promoted. One was a form of vocational training at the secondary level which incorporated a course in teacher training for Black primary schools. This model was first developed by Samuel Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Institute. Booker T. Washington, a graduate of Hampton, established another agricultural and industrial institute for the Black people in Tuskegee, Alabama. The name of these two institutes, Hampton and Tuskegee, were used frequently as a synonym for the associated secondary and teacher training scheme in agricultural and industrial education. For the purpose of effectively developing character and cultivating "civilized manners", a majority of students were boarded at school. Most of the students' time at school was spent in training for manual work with a minimum of literary education. They were expected to learn the "dignity of labor" through doing, rather than filling their brains with needless knowledge, and were strictly disciplined.[11]

Another model which philanthropists actively promoted was that of the Jeanes School, a system of community development centered on local primary schools. The Jeanes Fund, presided over by James Dillard, a Southern White, developed and promoted this system in the South, and later in Africa. A group of teachers called Jeanes teachers were trained in hygiene, home improvement, farming, etc., and visited village schools regularly where they supervised the development of the community around the school. The Jeanes School stood for a primary education program adapted to social conditions and various school-based activities aimed at

---

John D. Rockefeller" New York, Harper & Row publishers. 1962; see also pp. 6-7 King "Pan-Africanism and Education"

[11] pp. 33-78 James D. Anderson "The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935" Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1988; also Robert Francis Engs "Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893" Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press 1999

community development.[12]

While educationalists stressed the advantages of such agricultural and industrial education for its capacity to adapt to students' backgrounds, it was strictly governed by the concurrent conditions of life for Blacks in the White South. Where one sees education as a means of developing society, the educational philosophy employed tends to be society-oriented rather than student-centered. The agricultural and industrial education promoted in the American South defined the "character development" of students as one of its goals. However, little emphasis was given the development of personal strengths. It was to make Black students useful members of the larger society – that they should be well-adapted to its values, recognize their position in it, and play the expected role. In sum, practical, society-oriented vocational education for the Black reflected the collective will of the White population to preserve the status quo, or at most, slow and minor change.

Motivations for Inviting American Inputs to Education in Africa

Until the early 1920s, at least in the British colonies, governments haven't developed any comprehensive educational policy, although there were some random regulations on grant-in-aid for mission schools. Education was almost entirely dominated by missionaries. As the number of people educated in mission schools grew, there arose criticism among government officials, business people, travelers, etc., the "bookish" nature of missionary education and the danger of "denationalizing" Africans through such education. As in the U.S., literary education was considered as merely feeding the aspirations of Africans to achieve the same status as Europeans and inculcating in them a contempt for African culture. According to Thomas Jesse Jones,

---

[12] pp. 148-185 Anderson "The Education of Blacks in the South"; and W.C. Dougall "Training Visiting Teachers for African Village Schools" The Southern Workman October 1928

Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Chairman of the Educational Commissions:

> A popular pastime of travelers to and from Africa [was] the exchange of jokes and ridicule concerning the "mission boys" who [were] said to represent the futility and harm of educating natives away from "their place" in the colonial scheme arranged by Western civilization for the Africans.[13]

Every party working in Africa felt the urgency of setting the framework and standard of educational practice in Africa – what would contribute to the development of the colonies rather than set them back? Where to find the model? People turned to the U.S. W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore, Under Secretary for the Colonies of the British Government, remarked at a dinner for Thomas Jesse Jones:

> We have got to evolve new standards, new forms of education which are suited to the highest needs of a people situated in [Africa]. ... It is ... of special value to Great Britain as a Colonial Power with tremendous responsibilities in Africa ... to [learn from] the work those who are facing and dealing with a not wholly similar but an analogous problem in the Southern States of America.[14]

We should note here that vocational and adaptive education itself was not original to the U.S. In Britain, the emergence of an urban working-class in the nineteenth century raised concern among the bourgeoisie who felt they needed to be trained to be disciplined workers – also to avoid social unrest by keeping the youth in schools. Primary and vocational education for the working-class expanded in the nineteenth century, especially after the Elementary Education Act of 1870.[15] The paternalistic attitude of the bourgeoisie, although well-meaning in many cases, determined attitudes about what kind of education was appropriate both in Britain and in Africa. In sum, it is a mistake to attribute all the educational practices and policies in Africa since the 1920s to the American influence. They were the product of the mixture of British

---

[13] p. 249 Jones "East Africa and Education"

[14] W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore. Speech at the dinner for Thomas Jesse Jones. 26 March 1925. Folder 2987 Box 286 Series 1-2 General Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

[15] See David Rubinstein. "School Attendance in London, 1870-1904: A Social History" Hull, England: Hull Publisher Ltd., 1969; Jane Lewis. "Parents, Children, School Fees and the London School Board 1870-1890" History of Education 11 No 4 (1982): 291-312

bourgeois conceptions of how to educate socially lower people, various political interests, and the local context. More to the point was why the British (and other Europeans) looked to the U.S. for their educational models.

One factor, of course, was the commonly held belief that Americans were more experienced and successful in combining vocational education with the management of racial issues. In the U.S., Northern philanthropic organizations such as the General Education Board, the Jeanes Fund, the Slater Fund, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund devoted a lot of money and energy to promoting agricultural and industrial education for Southern Blacks. As mentioned above, it was a compromise between addressing the educational needs of Blacks and appeasing the suspicions of Southern Whites with respect to their being given a literary education of the Black. The mediation of conflicting interests between Blacks and Whites, which is not in any proper sense an educational issue, became an important part of the Black agricultural and industrial educational program. This aspect of American Black agricultural and industrial education appealed to the British missionaries and colonial officials. In South and East Africa, there was a large population of white settlers, and conflicts between them and native Africans already constituted serious problems for administrators.[16] There was no clear indication that Africans and American Blacks shared common genetic features and, even if such were the case, no one knew if such shared traits transcended the difference of context. Still, at the time when the notion that Blacks and Whites had different intellectual capacities was taken seriously,[17] the American

[16] The situation was rather different in West Africa, which had a much smaller number of white settlers and a comparatively large group of Africans educated in mission schools. Africans' voices had more influence on policy-making, including that related to education.

[17] For example, Anson Phelps-Stokes, the president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund referred to a study at public schools in Tennessee where Black children were shown to be 75% less efficient in doing "the Pressy Cross Out Test" than White children. Folder 2984, Box 286, Series 1-2, General Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center; Thomas Jesse Jones said that Hampton Institute, one of the model industrial institute for the Black, taught in the sociological course "the truth that beyond differences in physique, in economic possessions, and in literacy, there are other vital differences in the dispositions, in the mental characteristics, and in the social organizations of races". Jones further

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

experience in managing race relations while educating Blacks was considered significant. Drawing a parallel between different cases largely depends on people's perception. One might insist, for instance, that an educational model created for the British working-class can be used for Africans. What was operating here was the commonly held myth that what worked for American Blacks would also work for Africans – this would prove a convincing argument even if not a particularly rigorous one.

Secondly, there is a question of why the experience of vocational education in Europe was not explicitly drawn upon, although echoes of the discourse on education for the British working-class were certainly approved. However good Americans were in managing raccial issues in the field of education, it was still in an American context, not an African one. The U.S. had considerably less presence in Africa than most of the European powers, outside of Liberia. Several American missionary societies had stations in Africa, but compared to European missions, their numbers were small. As far as educational matters in Africa, Americans were much less experienced than Europeans. Why then Europeans looked to Americans for advice? Arguably, it was because the Americans were safely distant from any British political or economic interests in Africa. The British government could nc ›se anything by asking Americans for advice on education in Africa. At the same time, to enforce a comprehensive educational policy in Africa, the British needed some outside reference point. Some contemporary educationalists suggest that the transfer of educational policy occurs when policy-makers want to legitimize a policy that they already favor. This transference serves a symbolic role in the political discourse, which is, according to them, more significant than the particular

---

states that the warm climate and the low average of intelligence contribute to the emotional and impulsive behavior of Blacks. p. 687 and 691. Thomas Jesse Jones. "Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum" Southern Workman December 1906

characteristics of the policy.[18] Concerning the case in hand, the British policy-makers had already decided *beforehand* that "mission boys' education in Africa was futile and harmful as it took natives away from 'their place'."[19] A preference already existed for a practical education adapted to the African social background, even without American input. What was needed was the legitimization only an external sourcecould provide.

Selling the American Model

Frederick P. Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation, said in 1937 that "it was the Phelps-Stokes Fund through Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones who 're-discovered' Africa some seventeen years ago when Dr. Jones headed the First Education Commission to Africa". He felt, therefore, that "credit for much of the present interest of America in the welfare of the people of Africa is due to the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Dr. Jones."[20]

Although its influence was widespread, there were only a handful of people involved in the decision-making concerning the transfer of the American agricultural and industrial education model to Africa. One of these people was obviously Thomas Jesse Jones, who had been the education director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund for more then a quarter century as well as the chairman of the two Phelps-Stokes' Commissions to Africa. He started his career as a researcher of Black education in the South, first at the Hampton Institute, and then at the Phelps-Stokes Fund. In these early days, he developed his theory of the "four essentials" of Black education mentioned above: (1) sanitation and health; (2) agriculture and simple industry; (3) the decencies

---

[18] p. 29 David B. Robertson and Jerold L. Waltman "The Politics of Policy Borrowing" Something Borrowed, Something Learned? The Transatlantic Market in Education and Training Reform Eds. David Finegold, Laurel McFarland, and William Richardson. Washington, D.C.: the Blookings Institute. 1993; and pp. 307-8 David Halpin and Barry Troyna. "The Politics of Education Policy Borrowing" Comparative Education 31.3 1995

[19] p. 249 Jones "East Africa and Education"

[20] Minutes of the Board Meeting, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 17 November 1937, the Phelps-Stokes Fund Collection, New York

and safeties of the home; and (4) healthful recreation. The recommendations of the Africa Commissions' reports followed exactly this line, although the description of social and educational situations was different in Africa from what existed in America. Throughout his life, Jones would maintain the same line of argument, whether it was in a speech, during an interview, or in writing. By repeating the same essential argument, he was praised widely. At the time of the formation of the Advisory Committee on Education for Tropical Africa at the British Colonial Office, he was offered the secretaryship of the Committee, which he declined.[21] On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his directorship of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, he received piles of appreciation letters from all over the world.

It was a feature of the whole discourse that everybody reiterated the same themes: adaptation, development of useful citizens, practicality, and better race relations. These were as if the same wrapping paper applied to realities. Certainly, it was not the freshness of his idea which maintained Jones' reputation as agricultural and industrial education guru for so many years. Rather, it was due to the demand in Africa for an outside an authoritative assurance of their educational practice. Due credit may also be attributed to his presentation and mediation skills with respect to different interest groups. Requesting Jones to negotiate with the Portuguese government to stop the abuses of missionaries, Thomas Donohugh, Associate Secretary of the Committee on African Welfare of the Federal Council of Churches, wrote:

> Dr. Jones is by all odds the one best equipped to handle this very delicate situation most effectively. His personal knowledge of conditions in Angola and in Portuguese East Africa, from his repeated visits, his well-known tactfulness and courtesy in dealing with officials and other classes of individuals involved in the many sided phases of life in Africa, and his unusual ability to see all points of view sympathetically equip him to understand the delicate task better than anyone else whom we know.[22]

---

[21] ibid.; and p. 1 "Memorandum from press association" File 2987, Box 286, Series 1-2, General Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

[22] Letter of Thomas Donohugh to Anson Phelps Stokes, 22 March, 1933. Presented at the Board Meeting, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 5 April 1933, the Phelps-Stokes Fund Collection, New York

His comments were not always accepted favorably at first, but he had the skill to negotiate between different interests and make people accept his ideas in the end.

J.H. Oldham, Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, was another good negotiator in this sense. He acted as the bridge between British officials and the philanthropists, missionaries, and educationalists in America in the formulation of educational administrative policies in the British colonies. At the same time, he was the unofficial spokesman for many British and Irish protestant missionary societies before the Colonial Office, mediating between the interests of both, - he exercised great influence on the formulation of British educational policy in Africa, policy which was eventually extended to all the British colonies and dependencies around the globe. In 1923, the Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa, the first specialized committee in the Colonial Office, was established. It was often commented by American philanthropists that the establishment of this Advisory Committee was a direct result of the Phelps-Stokes' Commission to Africa. Given the fact that many of the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes' Commission were reflected in British educational policy in Africa, this seems a fair assertion. At the same time, American philanthropists were able to influence British policy only through Oldham. In the beginning, Oldham was almost the only channel connecting the British and American groups involved in African education, although as time passed, frequent communication diversified contact points. As a member of the Advisory Committee representing the missions' standpoint, he often sought to promote the value of a religious education and to prevent undue interference of the government in school management through its supervision of grant-in-aid. At the same time, he was the interpreter of the British government's will to missionary societies.

Among those at the core of the international discourse on education for Africans was a

shared appreciation of the necessity of good negotiating skills. To enforce new educational schemes, people had to mediate between what were often opposing interests, which had been left vaguely untouched until then. "Coordination" was one of the popular terms employed; coordination between the government and mission societies, between races, between different levels of government, etc. At various levels, from policy-making to implementation, coordination was given almost the equal weight as the content of the intended education.

Better Race Relations: Black Mediators

As mentioned earlier, agricultural and industrial education was always discussed in the context of the management of race relations, both in the U.S. and in Africa. Naturally, the manner of "coordination" between the two races was of great interest. In terms of race relations, the Whites in the U.S. and the Europeans in Africa both assumed the responsibility of uplifting the uncivilized. The Governor of Rhodesia (British East Africa) represented this view:

> Here we have primitive races without civilisation and with traditions that go little further back than to memories of the oldest inhabitant. Towards them we have an obvious duty to perform. We must endeavour to set them free from the terror of witchcraft which blights their lives, and raise them above the miseries and degradation in which they formerly live.[23]

He did not forget to quickly add that it was not desirable that Africans became "poor imitation[s] of White men" and "abandon what is good in their old tribal manners and customs". What was needed was "to bridge the fearful gap that exist[ed] between the glittering superstructure of ... modern Western urban culture, and the needs *for civilisation* (emphasis original) of humble and isolated groups, to whom the kiss of modern material culture may be the

[23] "Subject that Bristles with Difficulties: Governor Addresses Missionary Conference" Rhodesia Herald 2 June, 1924. Folder 155, Box 11, Series 1, International Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

kiss of death".[24] It was a part of the European's duty to decide what was good for Africans: to enlighten them but not to cut them off from tribal life. Also, tolerance and sympathy for the "inferior race" were assumed to be qualities of good White citizens. The Governor of Rhodesia further said:

> There must in a community such as this always be a heavy demand upon the men of the British race to show those qualities of justice, sympathy and common sense, with which they are I believe [more] than other races richly endowed.[25]

What kind of qualities then were expected of good Black citizens? These were gratitude, acceptance of status quo, and the capacity to speak from the standpoint of the white European. A brief description of two figures, one an American Black and the other, a West African, helps illuminate this point. Both of them were considered by Whites to be good at "interpreting" between the races.

Booker T. Washington was the founder and first principal of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Trained at the Hampton Institute, one of the two model Black institutes frequently referred to internationally (the other being Tuskegee), he was the primary Black promoter of agricultural and industrial education. His theory was simple: Find the way to be happy in a given position, rather than expecting too much and being frustrated. His "Cast Down your Bucket" story was often cited in the White media as indicative of his ability as a race mediator. The story goes as follows. A ship was lost at sea for many days. Each time other ship passed nearby, the passengers asked for water, but the answer was always "Cast down your bucket where you are." Finally, dying for thirst, the passengers cast down their bucket. What they pulled up was fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. The lesson of the story was that, if they

---

[24] John LaFarge, Associate Editor of America (New York), to Thomas Jesse Jones. 11 October, 1937. in "Twenty-Five Years of Thomas Jesse Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Fund" unpublished volume, the Phelps-Stokes Fund Collection, New York

[25] Governor's Speech, Rhodesia Herald 2 June, 1924

pay attention, there were many things Blacks can do to better their situation other than complaining.[26]

James Aggley was born on the Gold Coast in West Africa. After studying at a Wesleyan Mission School, he sailed to the U.S. and received his education at the Hampton Institute and the Teachers College, Columbia University. After thirty years in the U.S., he joined the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commissions to Africa in 1920 and 1924 as the sole Black member. "He was an eloquent speaker and made numerous addresses before native and European groups, endeavoring to foster better race relations."[27] In his speeches which he made during his stay in Africa as a Commission member, he identified himself with great pride "as a 'Britisher' a product of the wise and generous policy of the British Empire". He also acknowledged "the indebtedness of Africa to the British people" and noted that the highest ambition of his race would be to profit from the "lessons ... taught by the Missionaries, Settlers, and Government Officials of Great Britain".[28] His thankful, adaptive attitude was very much appreciated by the Whites in Africa. Rev. J.F.G. Orr, president of Y.M.C.A. in Kenya, praised Aggrey's presence as good for "those who desired to understand the native mind and to have an opportunity of gaining first hand knowledge".[29] Thomas Jesse Jones did not forget to appeal in his interview:

> Dr. Aggrey is really of very great value in helping the Black people to understand the Whites and the Whites to understand the Blacks. ... It would be worthwhile for the White people to keep Dr. Aggrey permanently in Kenya to explain the White people to the natives![30]

In similar fashion as was the case with Booker T. Washington, James Aggrey used the

---

[26] pp. 209-210 "Washington's Atlanta Speech, delivered on 18 September, 1895" The Southern Workman May 1922 pp. 209-212
[27] p. 393 "James E. Kwegwir Aggrey" The Southern Workman September 1927
[28] "Phelps-Stokes Tribute" East African Standard 3 March, 1924. Folder 155 Box 11 Series 1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives No. 26, Rockefeller Archive Center
[29] ibid.

metaphor of black and white keys of piano to express proper racial relations. Unless Blacks and Whites worked harmoniously together, there wouldn't be music.

How Washington and Aggrey were viewed by Blacks and Africans is a different matter. There was a big controversy between Washington and Black intellectuals such as DuBois who called for Black leadership and higher education. Likewise, Aggrey was not always appreciated by Africans. However, from the standpoint of Whites/Europeans, they were praised as those rare Blacks who could mediate between the two races. We cannot easily say how much they believed in their own public words, but at least Washington and Aggrey knew how to make Whites happy.

Good Africans and good American Blacks, from the perception of Europeans and White Americans, were those who were cooperative rather than confrontational. While the White's duty was to guide the uncivilized Black and be tolerant of differences, the Black was expected to be thankful and adaptive. James Dillard, the first President of the Jeanes Fund and a trustee of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, said, "No problem can be solved except on the basis of the golden rule - co-operation and good will".[31] Aggrey echoed, "The African never can [in] to his own, unless there is co-operation between Black and White."[32] There was an agreement that education was the way to create better race relations and avoid conflict. Thomas Jesse Jones claimed, "we are not interested in quarrels but in encouraging a type of education that in the long run, makes for sound relationships."[33] At the same time, it was felt that any educational program should be carefully designed so as not to develop people in a manner that did not fit the existing social

---

[30] "The Education of the African: Personalities & Priinciples of the Phelps-Stokes Commission" East African Standard 25 February, 1924. Folder 155 Box 11 Series 1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives No. 26, Rockefeller Archive Center

[31] "Phelps-Stokes Tribute" East African Standard 3 March, 1924. Folder 155 Box 11 Series 1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives No. 26, Rockefeller Archive Center

[32] ibid.

[33] Thomas Jesse Jones, quoted in "The Education of the African: Personalities & Principles of the Phelps-Stokes Commission" East African Standard 25 February, 1924. Folder 155 Box 11 Series 1, Rockefeller Foundation Archives No. 26, Rockefeller Archive Center

structure. The Governor of Rhodesia said, "by the wise and careful direction of the channels and methods of imparting technical instruction, it may, and indeed it should, be possible to minimise the danger of economic rivalry between the two races."[34]

Philanthropists' Commitment to Liberia

While the U.S. government in general had limited political and economic interests in Africa, Liberia was the exception. Liberia, began as a settlement of freed American Blacks in 1822, became a republic in 1847. Because of its origin, America held various commitments to the country, from the political to the individual level. At the time of the transfer of the educational models being discussed here, Liberia was the only country in which American philanthropists established and operated schools by themselves. As examined above, the reference to the American experience of Black agricultural and industrial education was, for colonial governments and missionaries in Africa, more symbolic than anything else. Although this type of education was hardly new to them, they needed the support of an external source to legitimize it, one which was safely removed from any of the interest groups actually involved. Nonetheless, as noted, American experience in managing race relations through education was, for the most part, not in an African context. Liberia was the exception. Here, American philanthropists implemented what they had preached in other parts of Africa. They faced the actual reality of implementation. As it turned out, they were better preachers than implementers.

Americans were deeply involved in molding Liberia as an independent state. Politically, the country was guided by American advisors and received a lot of influence from the U.S. For example, the Barkley administration, which took the office in 1935, had three American advisors

[34] "Subject that Bristles with Difficulties: Governor Addresses Missionary Conference" Rhodesia Herald 2 June, 1924. Folder 155, Box 11, Series 1, International Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

in the crucial areas of administration, military and education. Remington L. Embree, the education advisor, also held the principalship of the College of West Africa in Monrovia. The economy of the country was far from stable, relying primarily on rubber production and its export through the Firestone. Firestone, an American rubber company, occasionally contributed financially to social development programs in Liberia, including educational ones. Philanthropists played important roles in establishing the republic of Liberia, and had special interests in the future of the country. The Phelps-Stokes family owned the original flag of the Republic of Liberia, which was made in the home of James Stokes, father of the founder of the Fund, Caroline Phelps-Stokes. Having a special attachment to Liberia, in addition to a general concern to Africa, the Phelps-Stokes family and the Fund were extremely active in supporting Liberian education. The Booker Washington Institute was established in Kataka, Liberia, with an endowment from Olivia Eggleston Phelps-Stokes in 1925, and followed the Hampton-Tuskegee model of agricultural and industrial education. Both the Advisory Committee on education in Liberia and the Board of Trustees of the Booker Washington Institute had their headquarters in the Phelps-Stokes office and were made up of representatives of philanthropic organizations and mission societies.[35]

There were two educational institutions established by Americans: the College of West Africa and the Booker Washington Institute. It was intended that the College of West Africa should serve as "a central institution for advanced education and teacher training; [and the] Booker Washington Institute for industrial, agricultural and community education with [an]

[35] Among the members of the Board of Trustees, Booker Washington Institute, Anson Phelps-Stokes, president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the PSF; Robert Moton, commandant of Hampton Institute; and Thomas Donohugh, Associate Secretary of the Committee on African Welfare of the Federal Council of Churches.

emphasis on teacher training in those field".[36] Although there was no racial difference among the people of Liberia, there was a class distinction between Americo-Liberians (returned ex-slaves from the U.S.) and natives. The dual education provided by American philanthropies at the two institutes admittedly supported this distinction. Thomas Jesse Jones wrote to Jackson Davis, Secretary of the General Education Board:

> The only real guarantee for the future is of course sound and effective education, not only for the fifty thousand Americo-Liberians who are responsible for the Government, but also for the million Native people still at the primitive stage.[37]

In a memorandum entitled "Educational needs and opportunities in Liberia", it was written:

> The problem in Liberia is for a small group of English speaking Americo-Liberians who are in control of the country to maintain acceptable standards of Western civilization in character, justice, order, health and in general to preserve their cultural heritage from the United States. This involves not only their own development and training for this responsibility, but the civilization and development of the Native tribes of the hinterland, who are just emerging from a primitive society.[38]

The College of West Africa was designed to develop the leadership skills of Americo-Liberians and the Booker Washington Institute to uplift the uncivilized natives. Although there are no "racial" difference between Americo-Liberians and natives, Americans applied the civilized-barbarian dichotomy all the same, on the basis of which they justified the racial differentiation of educational treatment in other parts of Africa as well. American support of social classification obviously enhanced the tension between the two groups which became the cause of social unrest in later days.

The schools were far from successful, especially the Booker Washington Institute. The

---

[36] Thomas Jesse Jones to R.L. Embree, Principal of College of West Africa. 10 January, 1936. Folder 237, Box 16, Series 1, International Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

[37] Thomas Jesse Jones to Jackson Davis Folder 237, Box 16 Series 1, International Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

school facilities were to be built by students as a part of their training. However, the lack of basic equipment and efficient supervision caused many delays. Jackson Davis, Secretary of the General Education Board, observed while visiting Liberia that "there is a great desire on the part of Native boys to learn to handle tools and machinery".[39] In fact, few of them were employed for the skills in which they were trained. None of those who were trained in agriculture went into that work, "because (1) they cannot compete with Native farmers who have the services of their whole families in raising crops, and (2) because even with their limited skill in trade lines, they can secure position at three shillings a day, which they are glad to accept".[40] Arguably then, philanthropists did not succeed in "adapting" the agricultural and industrial curriculum to the local social and economic conditions, and students trained there did not meet the labor demands of the mid-1930s.

The administration of the Booker Washington Institute was moreover troubled. Administration of the school from New York caused delays in response, the misjudgment of conditions, and overall higher costs. There were repeated requests from Principal Rupel of the Institute to delegate the authority of decision-making and financial management to the field.[41] After a few years' indecision, it was agreed that a Board of Managers be established at the Institute in Liberia.[42]

The situation in Liberia was different from that in the African colonies of European

---

[38] "Educational Needs and Opportunities in Liberia" No date and identifier. Folder 242, Box 17, Series 1, International Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

[39] Jackson Davis "Impression of Liberia, 31 March - 12 April, 1935" Folder 236, Box 16, Series 1, International Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

[40] Explanation by Principal Rupel, Minutes of Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Trustees of the Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute of Liberia, 22 July, 1938.. Folder 241, Box 17, Series 1, International Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

[41] Rupel to Board of Trustee of the Booker Washington Institute, 26 September, 1935; 25 January, 1936; and 30 April, 1936. Folder 236 and 237, Box 16, Series 1, International Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

[42] Thomas Jesse Jones to Board of Trustees of the Booker Washington Institute, "Appointment of Advisory Board of Managers in Liberia" 15 December, 1939. Folder 243, Box 17, Series 1, International Education Board, Rockefeller Archive Center

powers. Whatever else, it was an independent state. Therefore, the government, even though greatly influenced by its American advisors and the U.S. government, occasionally got into conflict with Americans. Unlike what was the case with the colonial powers, however, the Americans could not enforce their will – they could only advise. In the sense that they had only indirect influence on policy-making through the provision of advise, the American philanthropists' relationship with the Liberian government may have been similar to that with other African colonial governments. The difference, however, was that, in Liberia, they were also implementers and had to manage the schools, negotiating with the government and the societies which also operated schools there. They were not very successful at it. They were expert negotiators at the international policy-making level, but not at the level of implementation.

Conclusion

In the preceding sections, I have considered the role played by American philanthropists in the discourse on education in Africa. The idea of agricultural and industrial education itself was not something new to the British. What they found special about the U.S. was its experience in linking agricultural and industrial education with the management of racial issues. Strictly speaking, no one knew how much the experience of educating American Blacks was relevant to Africa. The collective desire to believe in its relevance made the whole exchange of ideas possible. A casual glance at some of the educational operations in Africa will reveal that these were diverse. However, they were all nicely wrapped under the titles of agricultural and vocational education, with reference to either the Hampton-Tuskegee or Jeanes School. Colonial officials and missionaries were in need of some authoritative assurance with respect to what they were doing. It might be too much to say that the Phelps-Stokes Commissions and the efforts of other American philanthropists did not make any real difference. Their reports and advice would

have provided some important hints. What is important here, however, is that the idea itself was not new. Rather, it was presented in a way easy to adapt. The skill of negotiation and presentation of major actors in the discourse was an important factor in creating the image of Americans as experts in the area of Black education and management of racial relations.

References

- Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa, "Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa." London: Colonial Office, United Kingdom 1923
- Anderson, James D. "The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935" Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1988
- Dougall, W.C. "Training Visiting Teachers for African Village Schools" The Southern Workman October 1928
- Engs, Robert Francis "Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893" Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press 1999
- Fosdick, R.B. "Adventure in Giving: the Story of the General Education Board, a Foundation Established by John D. Rockefeller" New York, Harper & Row publishers. 1962
- Halpin, David and Barry Troyna. "The Politics of Education Policy Borrowing" Comparative Education 31.3 1995
- Jones, Thomas Jesse "Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum" The Southern Workman December 1906
- ---------- "East Africa and Education" The Southern Workman June 1925. 249-253
- Guggisberg, Sir Gordon. "Review of the Events of 1922-23" speech made at the Legislative Council. Gold Coast Government. 1923
- King, Kenneth. "Pan-Africanism and Education: a Study of Race, Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa." Oxford: Clarendon Press 1971
- Lewis, Jane. "Parents, Children, School Fees and the London School Board 1870-1890" History of Education 11 No 4 (1982): 291-312
- Robertson, David B. and Jerold L. Waltman "The Politics of Policy Borrowing" Something Borrowed, Something Learned? The Transatlantic Market in Education and Training Reform Eds. David Finegold, Laurel McFarland, and William Richardson. Washington, D.C.: The Blookings Institute. 1993
- Rubinstein, David. "School Attendance in London, 1870-1904: A Social History" Hull, England: Hull Publisher Ltd., 1969
- Writer unknown. "Washington's Atlanta Speech, delivered on 18 September, 1895" The Southern Workman May 1922 pp. 209-212
- ---------- "James E. Kwegwir Aggrey" The Southern Workman September 1927

Archival Sources

Phelps-Stokes Fund

- Minutes of the Board Meeting, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1910-1945

Rockefeller Archive Center

- "Education in Liberia." Folder 2620-21, Box 254, Series 1, General Education Board
- "Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1918-1960." Folder 2984-3033 Boxes 286-288, Series 1-2, General Education Board
- "IEB's support for the Booker Washington Institute of Liberia and the College of West Africa." Folders 235-243, Boxes 16-17, International Education Board

- "Educational Commission to East Africa 1923-27." Folder 155-156, Series I, Box 11, International Education Board

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

Reproduction Release

(Specific Document)

I. DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION:

Title: Politics of Educational Transfer: Different meanings of the American Black Industrial Education model in the discourse of 'Education for Africans'

Author(s): Shoko Yamada

Corporate Source:

Publication Date: March 2002

II. REPRODUCTION RELEASE:

In order to disseminate as widely as possible timely and significant materials of interest to the educational community, documents announced in the monthly abstract journal of the ERIC system, Resources in Education (RIE), are usually made available to users in microfiche, reproduced paper copy, and electronic media, and sold through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). Credit is given to the source of each document, and, if reproduction release is granted, one of the following notices is affixed to the document.

If permission is granted to reproduce and disseminate the identified document, please CHECK ONE of the following three options and sign in the indicated space following.

The sample sticker shown below will be affixed to all Level 1 documents	The sample sticker shown below will be affixed to all Level 2A documents	The sample sticker shown below will be affixed to all Level 2B documents
PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY SAMPLE TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)	PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE, AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY, HAS BEEN GRANTED BY SAMPLE TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)	PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY SAMPLE TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
Level 1	Level 2A	Level 2B
☑	☐	☐
Check here for Level 1 release, permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche or other ERIC archival media (e.g. electronic) *and* paper copy.	Check here for Level 2A release, permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche and in electronic media for ERIC archival collection subscribers only	Check here for Level 2B release, permitting reproduction and dissemination in microfiche only

Documents will be processed as indicated provided reproduction quality permits.
If permission to reproduce is granted, but no box is checked, documents will be processed at Level 1.

I hereby grant to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) nonexclusive permission to reproduce and disseminate this document as indicated above. Reproduction from the ERIC microfiche, or electronic media by persons other than ERIC employees and its system contractors requires permission from the copyright holder. Exception is made for non-profit reproduction by libraries and other service agencies to satisfy information needs of educators in response to discrete inquiries.

Signature:

Printed Name/Position/Title: Shoko Yamada, Ph.D. Candidate

Organization/Address: Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
School of Education, Indiana University
WWWright Education Building
Bloomington, IN 47405

Telephone: 812-857-4045

Fax:

E-mail Address: syamada@indiana.edu

Date: Oct. 21, 02

III. DOCUMENT AVAILABILITY INFORMATION (FROM NON-ERIC SOURCE):

If permission to reproduce is not granted to ERIC, *or*, if you wish ERIC to cite the availability of the document from another source, please provide the following information regarding the availability of the document. (ERIC will not announce a document unless it is publicly available, and a dependable source can be specified. Contributors should also be aware that ERIC selection criteria are significantly more stringent for documents that cannot be made available through EDRS.)

Publisher/Distributor:
Address:
Price:

IV. REFERRAL OF ERIC TO COPYRIGHT/REPRODUCTION RIGHTS HOLDER:

If the right to grant this reproduction release is held by someone other than the addressee, please provide the appropriate name and address:

Name:
Address:

V. WHERE TO SEND THIS FORM:

Send this form to the following ERIC Clearinghouse:

ERIC/CHESS
2805 E. Tenth Street, #120
Bloomington, IN 47408

However, if solicited by the ERIC Facility, or if making an unsolicited contribution to ERIC, return this form (and the document being contributed) to:

ERIC Processing and Reference Facility
4483-A Forbes Boulevard
Lanham, Maryland 20706

Telephone: 301-552-4200
Toll Free: 800-799-3742
FAX: 301-552-4700
e-mail: ericfac@inet.ed.gov
WWW: http://ericfacility.org

EFF-088 (Rev. 2/2001)